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THE CRIMENT CONDUCTOR PARTY CONGRESS

- I. The Chinese Communist Party's Sth Congress, its first since 1945, is scheduled to open in Peiping on 15 September. The Congress is expected to start the party in the direction of "collective leadership," although Mae Tae-tung, who has personally led the party since 1935, will almost certainly continue to be the deminant figure.
- II. There are four principal items on the Congress' agenda:
 - A. The report of the Contral Committee—on its work since 1845.
 - 3. A report on revision of the Party Constitution.
 - C. A directive on the Second Five-Year Plan-for the period 1958-62.
 - 9. Election of a new Control Committee.
- III. The last CCP Congress (1945), like Seviet party congresses since the 1920's, was a rubber-stamp for the party leadership, enthusiastically approving its policies and electing its choices to the Central Counittee. This is expected to be essentially the case again, although there will be an appearance of earnest discussion and a mild show of "exitieism and self-criticism."
- Committee report the main address, with an elaborate review of the world situation, China's internal position, and the condition of the party. If so, Mae or Mae's choice as second-ranking leader will probably make the report. Alternatively, Peiping may break the report into several components, with several nembers of the "collective"

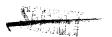
loadswebip" reporting. Either way, the principal points are ex-

- A. That the Bloc is growing strenger and the West weaker, and that the Bloc, while able to win any war, will continue to seek assetiated settlements of outstanding problems.
- B. That China remains on the "high tide of Secialist revolution," and that this can be substantially completed in three years or less.
- C. The party is stronger and more united around its leadership than ever before, and the leadership is faithful to Laminism as apposed to one-man rule (although we do not expect the Chinese to begin to denounce Stalin in terms as strong as the Eussians have used).
- 22. The report on revision of the party Constitution will probably be given by Mao's principal spokesman for party affairs since 1945, Liu Shae-chi, or by a deputy of Liu's. The revisions will probably bring the Constitution into closer conformity with the Soviet statutes adopted in 1952.
 - A. A new Constitution may reduce the number of posts held by the head of the party. Here is now Chairman of the Contral Constitue, Polithure and Secretariat (which directs daily operations). Elimination of one or more of these posts would present a greater appearance of collective leadership and would in fact take a step toward such a collective.
- VI. The Second Five-Year Flan in many respects will be Peiping's first coordinated long-term plan. It will almost cortainly emphasize



heavy industry and envisage a great increase in agricultural output.

- A. Peiping has announced a 1982 goal of 14 million tons of steel (five times the 1955 claim). The Chinese are expected to try to double the coal output (93 million tons in 1955), and nearly to double grain output (184 million tons in 1955).
- 8. The goal for grain output in particular seems unrealistic, although the grain increase will probably keep up with the expected population growth of almost two percent annually.
- The composition of the new membership of the Central Committee will be significant because it will have been decided on beforehand by the party's top leaders and thus may reflect their comparative strengths.
 - A. The high levels of the party and government in recent years have clearly represented Mao Tae-tung's own team. The Contral Committee elections, like the proceedings of the Congress as a shele, will reflect Mao's predominance and throw further light on his preferences as to his heirs.
 - B. However, it is by no means assured that Mes's arrangements will survive him; some of his limitenants may well have plans of their own. Hany of them have acquired protoges of their own, and their success in installing personal followers in boy parts of the party structure may have a profound effect on the past-Mac leadership.
 - C. Has's two most powerful lieutenants have long seemed to be Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai. Other centers of power seem



Peng Ye-kuni, the fast-rising defense minister; Peng Ches, mayor and party beas of Peiping; and Kang Sheng, long reported as the party's secret police chief. There are neveral other figures who would be great assets to any sentender for power but who do not appear to be centers of power themselves.

- p. In the elections to the Central Committee, and in subsequent appointments to the key organs (Polithero, Secretariat, and control departments such as organization and party police), we expect Liu, Chou and Pong To-bank to strongthen their positions considerably, and Pong Chou and Kang Shong to make gains.
- 2. We are particularly interested in getting evidence as to chether either Liu or Cheu is forging sheed of the other. They have long been reported as heetile, and there have been fragmentary indications that they have been competing for power in the government structure (in which they hold the two top jobs). It will probably be some weeks before we can reach any view on this question.



